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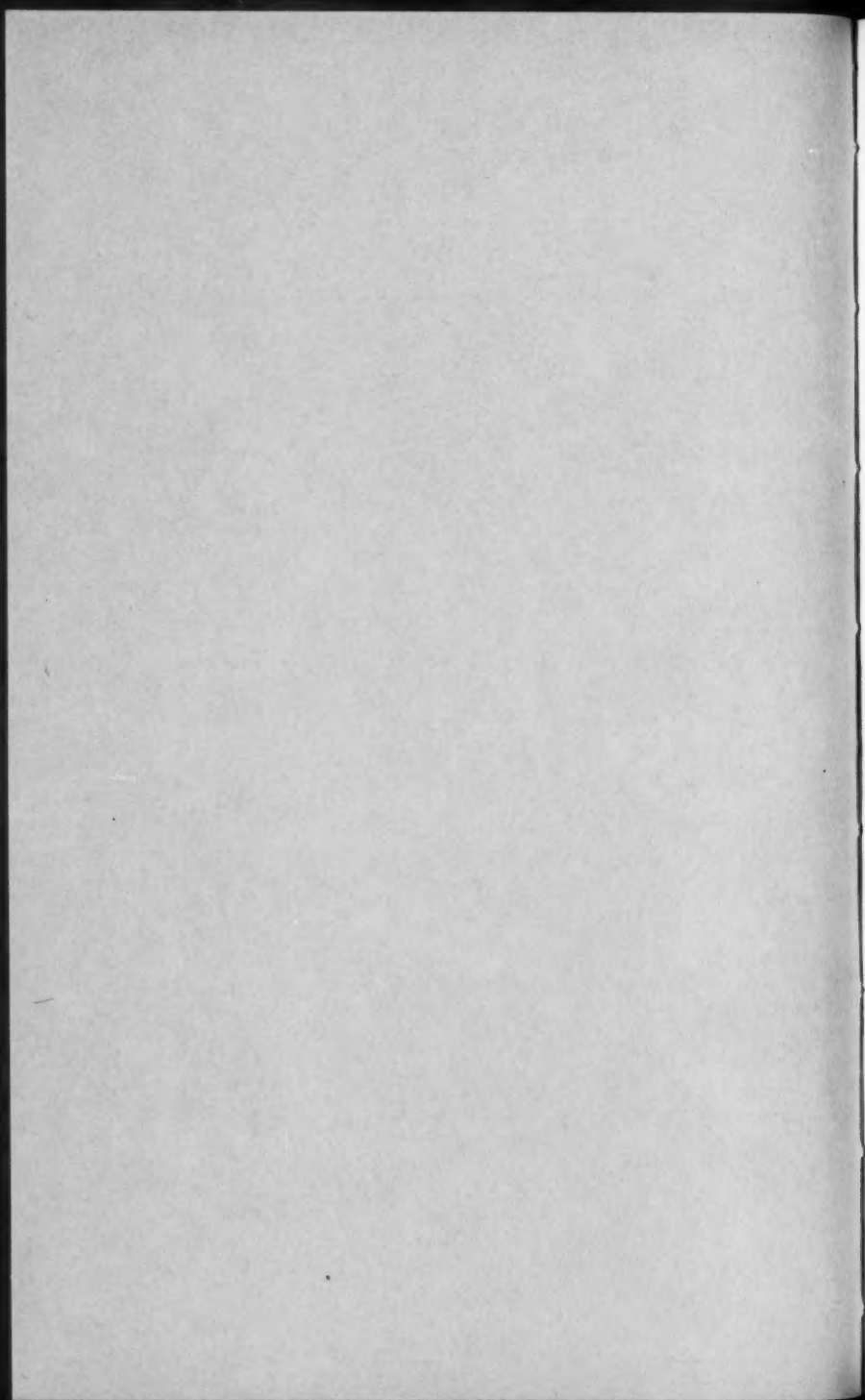
The American Catholic Sociological Review

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Catholic Sociological Research

FRANCIS J. FRIEDEL, S.M.

At the organization meeting of the American Catholic Sociological Society, a little more than four years ago, the question was put: "To what extent has social research been carried on by Catholic sociologists?" In the effort to cope with the problems of providing relief for the immediate necessities of humanity, we have had little time or opportunity for pure, or even for that matter, for applied, sociology. Catholic social work has been in advance of sociology. Is it true that sociology is a very young science, and the methods of research are still in the early stages of development. The department of sociology in our Catholic colleges has but recently emerged as an entity distinct from that of philosophy or the broader area of social science.

Within the space of the few years since the organization of our Society and the establishment of the REVIEW, I believe much has been accomplished. A great impetus has been given to research among our Catholic sociologists. There is no doubt that prior to that time, such work had been going on. Since, however, opportunities are provided for the crystallization of such projects through papers at meetings or publication in the REVIEW, greater articulateness is manifest. We must not, however, rest on our laurels and be satisfied that something has been done. Our purpose at this moment is not to review the achievements of the past but rather to see what lies ahead, what fields of endeavor still demand extensive as well as intensive cultivation.

The Catholic sociologist has a decided advantage over those not of the faith because he possesses a fundamental integrating principle of human existence and human relationships. This principle is the existence of God with all its corollaries. Many non-Catholic sociologists are irreligious or a-religious or even positively anti-religious. They claim to be scientific, objective, open-minded. Yet, as Dr. Ellwood has pointed out, they have overlooked a vast treasury of social thought developed by Catholic sociologists.¹ They, of

¹ Charles A. Ellwood, "Roman Catholic Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research*, November-December, 1941, 26:114-20.

course, cannot deny religion as a social phenomenon; their approach will be naturalistic. For them, religion is an emotional release, a matter of opinion, a mode of escape. God is the creation of man, not vice versa. Religion for them is usually the Protestant religion because they have had experience of its workings; Catholicism is an almost unknown quantity to them. An atheistic or indifferent philosophy of life is necessarily going to color their interpretation and evaluation of social phenomena.

At the other extreme may stand the Catholic sociologist who regards sociology from the purely philosophical point of view and more specifically from the ethical. The course in sociology then becomes one primarily of social ethics. This can be seen from the earliest textbooks on sociology published by Catholic authors. We do owe a debt of gratitude to the Catholic pioneers in sociology for their contributions and their stimulus. Perhaps we do need to emphasize the principle that there is an objective norm of morality to offset the mores theory that it is society which fixes the standards of human conduct. However, if we would explore the vast reaches of the world of social phenomena, we cannot sit comfortably in our armchairs and spin theories that have no relation to social fact.

Social research, viewed in itself, is concerned primarily with the collection, analysis, and interpretation of facts. It differs from social diagnosis which seeks to determine causative factors in a social situation in order to formulate a program of treatment. The pure research worker, theoretically speaking, has little or no immediate interest in practical problems and does not undertake to find solutions for them. However, it is very doubtful whether a worker can so completely lose himself in the scientific aspects of his investigation as to forget the possibilities of application. The social research man is to the social worker and executive what the medical research worker is to the practitioner and nurse. His findings of today will be the directive principles in the processes of social rehabilitation tomorrow. We prefer to regard social research as intimately bound up with the practical aspects of life; man's living in society is something dynamic and hence can only with the greatest difficulty be examined as something virtually inert. Social research is something more than collecting facts about people in group relationships and social situations. The meaning of social facts must be analyzed, attitudes must be understood, public opinion interpreted, the processes of social change recognized.

The sociologist cannot cramp his research activities within the compass of a formal laboratory; the world is his laboratory. Catholic colleges are generally located in or near urban centers large enough to provide countless opportunities for investigation. Those placed in a rural setting have also a great field of research. The subjects of study are human beings placed in a social environment. Some features of this environment are controllable, but frequently variables enter that call for careful observation and interpretation in order to arrive at valid conclusions. Field work in sociology is as important as in botany or geology in order to have access to persons for interviews and to social agencies or other community sources for records. Field work in the social sciences is even more exacting than in the physical sciences because of the demand for the cooperation of the human material involved. The data gathered may be valueless because of the failure on the part of the research worker to secure proper rapport with individuals, who, in such cases, will withhold much needed information.

Techniques

Because there is room for special research by Catholics in the field of sociology does not imply the rejection of the techniques and methods which have already been developed and found to be suitable working tools. These have their definite place in our investigations and experimentation where the latter is possible. Where we may have a special contribution to offer is in the recognition of the religious and moral factors as important in the research and in the subsequent treatment. It is seldom that anyone outside the faith, unless he has had much contact with it, can interpret, for example, the Church's role during the Middle Ages, and the integrated social order that grew out of the faith as a basic principle and out of the social control exercised by the Church. It is difficult to make men understand the significance of the absence of religious and moral principles in contemporary American and world society. The position of the Catholic sociologist is not only one of filling in the lacunae of other types of research but especially to integrate the whole social complex.

Depending on the type of research to be undertaken, he will use the historical method or apply the techniques of field work. The historical method is of growing importance in social research especially in combination with the statistical because the study of past

sequences is necessary in order to eventuate in some form of prediction. Furthermore, through such a method or technique, it is possible to find out what portion of the field has already been covered, what remains still to be investigated, and what syntheses are to be made of isolated elements. In the use of statistics, special care has to be taken in reaching conclusions that are valid; such validity will depend on the comparability of the units and the size of the sample. When the relationships are numerous and complex and do not lend themselves to statistical measurement the case method may be used. This occurs when the case studied virtually represents a type or when it is used in constructing or testing a hypothesis.

Neither effective technique nor the most perfect instruments of research can ever serve as substitutes for an alert mind and for intellectual honesty. We cannot conceive of a Catholic research worker who would have anything but an unfaltering devotion to truth. Truth is one, and no service is rendered by a corruption of data. However, the personal element can and does step in to create prejudices, and it is for the sociologist to check over his desires, his modes of rationalization, his seeking for the so-called common sense explanation.

Hagerty calls attention to the point that "training in social research should be training in applied logic with the teaching of techniques as a secondary matter, for technical methods, while essential, are only incidental and the acquisition of great skill and speed of performance is not the vital thing. Skills are tools of investigation and may be easily acquired. The logical method characteristic of all sciences is the essence of research and is not easily acquired."²

Research Projects

Let us now turn to examine the fields of research that lie open to the Catholic sociologist. There may be consolation in the thought that there is sufficient work to last until doomsday. Truth has so many ramifications and as man grasps one phase, he sees new vistas opening before him. The great problem is really one of embarrassment of choice and consequently, of selectivity, in determining the particular projects to be undertaken. We can touch on only a few which can be pursued indefinitely.

1. Utilizing the historical method, fruitful study could be made of Catholic social thought. Historians, today, are placing

² James Hagerty, *Training of Social Workers*.

more emphasis on the social and cultural in addition to the political aspects of national and international happenings. We still need intense research in the development of Catholic social thought and theory as well as in the influence of Catholic thinking on society. Hilaire Belloc, for example, repeatedly stresses the thesis of the clash between the two distinct cultures of Protestantism and Catholicism. Christopher Dawson has carried on much interesting work in studying religion in relation to, and as part of, culture. There is room for numerous monographs that would present the teachings of the numerous exponents of Catholic social thought. Such work is under way.

What of the social contributions of the many religious orders who have been important instruments over the centuries in the civilization and evangelization of the people? Has the general work of the Church in the civilization of the barbarians been thoroughly enough investigated? We have here fine illustrations of acculturation and assimilation that would provide opportunity for outstanding sociological analysis.

The Church has a glorious history of charitable endeavor. The very doctrine of the Mystical Body makes her regard each human being as another Christ, and if this other Christ is a suffering member, he becomes the object of the Church's solicitude. Gillin^a remarks that in early Christianity careful control was exercised over the administration of relief to needy persons but, in time, the monasteries contributed toward the pauperization of individuals by giving assistance, regardless of real need. He also claims that the rise of the mendicant orders "canonized" pauperism. Elsewhere, however, he admits that both the monasteries and the feudal lords gave more or less adequate care to the needy, and that the problems which arose later in the care of dependents were due to the changing complexion of society and the dissolution of the monasteries. Is the modern approach to social case work so modern? Is there not a tendency to rule out of consideration the whole medieval period as deserving of little or no consideration? Are there not many kinds of activities and techniques of the Church which deserve exploration?

Studies in the origins of social institutions have an important sociological value. They enable us, as Eva Ross points out, better to understand the fundamental operations behind our major culture-patterns and to meet on their own ground those sociologists who

^aJ. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, p. 10.

still advance the theory of unilinear evolution. Here an important contribution can be made by careful research to offset the deficiencies of "those theorists who take scanty account of history, who will not listen to philosophical reasonings nor to religious revelation, who ignore God's existence, a planned universe, and man's destiny beyond the grave."⁴ Colleges and universities might render a great service to social research by training future missionaries to primitive peoples in the scientific methods of observation and interpretation of social data to be encountered in their missionary work. A vast amount of anthropological knowledge is presently being accumulated through the work of Wilhelm Schmidt and his disciples, who are in direct contact with missionaries.

2. A second series of research projects may be classed as *special problems*, that is, those related to the general situations that arise in our contemporary national and international life. It is in relation to these problems that we are inclined to stress the moral angle when the "outsiders" refuse to consider that viewpoint. Using moral arguments on these is, to say the least, love's labor lost. They will marshal statistics, economic arguments, etc., and we have to meet them on their own ground. Advocates of birth control, sterilization, and euthanasia can be found in considerable numbers among secular sociologists. More recently, of course, the eugenicists have found themselves in rather strange company. Hitler believes in racial superiority and racial purity and has carried into practice programs of elimination of the socially undesirable. Birth controllers have been hard put to fit themselves into an emergency situation where the demand is for more and more man-power. They are now talking about "human fertility" instead of "contraception." The Catholic sociologist will have to study more and more the social implications of birth control, sterilization, and euthanasia. He will have to investigate population with relation to the fertility of Catholics. What are the trends of Catholic population? What is its age composition? Its occupational distribution? Are Catholic numbers following the same trends as the general population?

Another field of research is concerned with the relations of the State to the individual and to groups. What are the social consequences of the totalitarian concepts of the State? What is the Catholic's position relative to these ideologies? In view of developments within the past months and years, it is likely that there will not

⁴E. J. Ross, *Social Origins*, p. 9.

be much sympathy with these systems. But there are Americans who have concepts not far removed from these with respect to the State's control of the individual, the family, the Church, and other institutions. Many problems, too, are related to social planning and social security.

There has been comparatively little research among Catholic sociologists on the family. An exception is the outstanding work of Edgar Schmiedeler. It is true that much has been written on the family, on the morality of divorce, and on birth control. Much emphasis has been placed on canonical requirements and moral preparation for marriage. Not enough stress has been laid on the dynamic, the psychological, the economic, and the other aspects of marriage and the family. We need to realize the importance of the family's functioning effectively as a unit of interacting personalities.

3. Catholic colleges and universities can be of great assistance to parishes where research subjects can be found without number. Much concern has been manifested in the last several years over the leakage in the Church. Opinions advanced on the basis of studies have given rise to considerable discussion. Often more heat than light was furnished. Periodic surveys might reveal serious conditions existing in a parish or might disclose a very healthy situation. A parish priest would welcome information concerning mixed marriages, the raising of the children in the Catholic faith, the number of children attending public schools, approaches to the problem of religious instruction, factors underlying mobility of parishioners, the influence of religion on the lives of individuals and families. No one can estimate the importance of discovering factors relating to the delinquency of children belonging to the parish. The parish can be a powerful element in the application of methods of rehabilitation. Furthermore, the parish school and church can be utilized to a greater degree as community centers. Brother Gerald Schnepf's excellent study of leakage⁵ in a typical parish can lead the way for many other similar projects that will be of tremendous value to a parish.

4. Everyone will concede the importance of the functions exercised by the Catholic social agencies, whatever their name in a particular community. If these agencies are to keep pace with the development in social work, they will depend upon the research that is

⁵ Gerald J. Schnepf, S.M., *Leakage from a Catholic Parish* (Kirkwood, Mo.: Maryhurst Press, 1942).

going on for their directives. Social workers need some instruction in research methods in order to understand the factors underlying a problem and the relationships in which the problem has its setting. Social executives, too, need research training in order to analyze problems and so to develop programs and policies and evaluate the results. There is scarcely a field of social endeavor in which the Catholic Church is not engaged. In more populated dioceses, side by side with a strong educational system, there exists a comprehensive social program that goes under the name of Catholic Charities: hospitals, care of dependent and delinquent children and family welfare, etc. The prosecution of research projects in conjunction with these various institutions will lay the foundation for new methods of rehabilitation.

5. What has been said of the Catholic agencies applies in a broader sense also to the other social agencies in a community. Some of these are under government control; others are private organizations. Both perhaps are rarely concerned with the moral and religious aspects of social problems. Experience shows that these agencies are, in general, more than willing to accept the active participation of Catholics and the special contributions that the Catholics are able to make. Naturally, then, where research is undertaken, the influence of the Catholic sociologist can be felt. This influence is more powerful when Catholics are found in these agencies.

6. One more question might be asked. Are we interested in social experimentation? The individual college, university, or other institution offers itself as a fertile field for investigation of the social processes, and the results of the introduction of modifying factors. Many studies might be made of the attitudes of students with regard to the race question, to the development of opinion, the influence of propaganda and publicity, and so on. The college is thus an excellent sociological laboratory. There are forms of experimentation going on as a matter of fact in projects like those of Monsignor Luigi Ligutti, The Catholic Worker group, and others. Catholic social leaders are making attempts to apply sound principles to social living.

We realize, then, the enormous possibilities that lie before us Catholic sociologists. We are doing no more than heed the call of the late Pius XI to make an "intense study of social matters."

University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio

COMMENT*

Father Friedel's excellent paper on Sociological Research by Catholics is a modernization and amplification of his first address to the American Catholic Sociological Society. When called upon to suggest points of discussion at that time, I joined in the lament that the many excellent pieces of research embodied in master's theses are interred in what Father Carroll has called "the intellectual graveyard" and voiced the prayer that these theses would be at least tabulated by title in some such manner as the Library of the University of Notre Dame had done up to 1930. Until something like this is done, it is only possible to deal with this field in the most general terms. Could the American Catholic Sociological Society assume the task of listing, possibly of annotating the list of, these valuable materials?

With the objective of depicting the social theory that motivated the conduct of outstanding figures in past ages, Doctor Paul Hanly Furfey's department at the Catholic University has produced a number of splendid studies. This field seems to be legitimately considered as sociology, and is a far cry from the older and almost exclusively intuitive philosophy-of-history limitation. Much as one may revere Belloc, Dawson, *et al*, they do not properly belong in the field of sociology. Father Friedel finds consolation in the realization that there is enough work to last until doomsday and that there is, even though we limit our efforts to the specifically sociological field.

It may be noticed that some liberty has been taken with Father Friedel's title. He uses, "Catholic Sociological Research," a neater but much less precise expression than "Sociological Research by Catholics." Is the distinction worthwhile, or merely wordplay? His title would seem to narrow the range of topics to Catholic (not universal) topics. Is it not preferable to throw down barriers to any topic, to make the range truly catholic and universal and to hope for their adequate treatment at the hands of persons who at least professedly have a comprehensive world view? The range of vision of a Catholic is only as limited as his failure to reach the full realization of his Catholicity. The vagaries, narrowness, and often stupidities which have merited for the science of sociology some well-earned contempt at the hands of philosophers, have in large measure been due to the provincialisms which stultify the godless and the pagan. There is so much sociological research that should be done by Catholics. Perhaps more competent personnel can be attracted to the field when discussions such as Father Friedel's and a resulting clarification of viewpoint bring home to us the possibilities of advertising, so to speak, the solution which we have of the riddle of life.

* The pages of the REVIEW are open to other members of the American Catholic Sociological Society who may wish to comment (briefly or at greater length) upon the matters presented by Father Friedel and discussed by Sister M. Liguori, B.V.M., Franz Mueller, and Walter L. Willigan.

In making the foregoing observations neither Father Friedel, I am quite sure, nor myself, I am certain, have been unmindful of the Research Census which Miss Reuss has conducted each year for our Society. Excellent and properly executed as Miss Reuss' work has been, there is still unrecorded the vast number of projects by non-members. Probably too, her efforts have served to emphasize the dearth of researchers.

SISTER MARY LIGUORI, B.V.M.

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* * *

Father Friedel's excellent and inspiring appeal makes it clear that one of our most urgent "research projects" is of an epistemological and methodological rather than of a sociological nature. In order to avoid the mistakes and fallacies of the research work done by many of our non-Catholic colleagues, we should immediately avail ourselves of the treasures of scholastic philosophy to provide the answers for the following problems.

Is a pure and general sociology at all possible? Is an isolated observation of the "empirical aspects" of societal phenomena really feasible, prescindng from the philosophical and theological aspects of these phenomena? In other words, is there such a thing as a special science dealing with the *secondary* causes of social integration and disintegration, supplementing, as it were, theological and philosophical anthropology? Is there need and justification for such a special science of sociology? If so, what is its proper locus in the hierarchy of the sciences? What is its *objectum formale*?¹ What is social research and what is its purpose? What are the adequate methods of sociological and social research? What is the relationship of sociology to theology and philosophy on the one hand, and to the natural sciences on the other? What degree of certitude can be achieved in the field of sociology? What is our position with regard to "objectivity" and "value judgements" in sociology? If there is an empirical science of sociology as distinguished from social philosophy and "social theology," in what does sociology's empiricism consist? What distinguishes sociology from the other social sciences; how is it related to them? Are there any sociological "laws"? Have we or are we ready to develop a coherent body of sociological theory and frames of reference in sociology?

Let us admit that our Catholic books on sociology hardly provide, as yet, workable sets of principles to guide and organize research, i.e., theories that research could proceed upon. Some are "a kind of a 'synthetic hodge-podge' or encyclopedia of all social sciences."² A comprehensive and systematic sociology is still to be

¹ Doubt has been expressed as to whether we can speak of a "formal object" of sociology in the strict (rather than analogical) sense of the phrase, since empirical sciences are not concerned with "forms."

² Pitirim A. Sorokin used this expression with regard to the common concept of general sociology. See "Sociology as a Science," *Social Forces*, October, 1931.

formulated. This does not mean, of course, that we should wait with factual research until we possess a systematic classification of sociological categories and "types," until we all agree on certain terms and definitions, or until we have developed foolproof techniques of research. Undoubtedly, one of the most important objectives of research is to test and verify theoretical hypotheses and to provide the data for further generalizations. Thus, research not only uses the theoretical frames of reference as heuristic tools, but itself provides new building material for the advancement of theory. But we certainly cannot begin our inquiries without some postulates, we cannot sustain them without systematic procedure, and we cannot hope to achieve worthwhile results without a fair idea of the purpose of our explorations. To paraphrase Immanuel Kant: Empirical research without sociological theory is blind; sociological theory without empirical research is empty.

Since we cannot in this brief comment deal with the problem of research systematically and exhaustively, let us pick out at random some of the points which require special attention. It seems advisable and expedient to distinguish between social and sociological research — the former being more comprehensive than the latter, making use of *all* the social sciences. Each science has its own appropriate method (leaving ample leeway for variation of "techniques"). The "statistical method" gives statistical results, not sociological ones; statistics may assist in the collection and analysis of data, but the interpretation of the societal phenomena themselves in specifically sociological terms can only be done by sociology or sociological methods. Similarly, the "historical" approach is likely to draw our attention to historical phenomena (social history, history of social thought and social movement, etc.) rather than sociological ones. I am now making a study of the genesis of corporativism with special regard to its development in the Catholic social movement, but I do not pretend thus to engage in a sociological research project; it is, primarily, an historical inquiry. What, by the way, do we mean by "approach" (in methodology)? It seems to be a rather vague concept which obscures more than it clarifies.

Modern man tends to regard as true sciences only the natural sciences. Hence the cultural sciences, including the social, are considered to gain in scientific character according to the degree with which its representatives succeed in applying and using "exact" methods of the natural sciences. Sociology, too, it seems, is recognized as a science only if, and in so far as, it is presented as a natural science, describing (alleged) cause and effect sequences involved in social processes and using quantitative terms and concepts.³ Social research is also quite generally thought of in terms of statistical

³Stanley Jevons, one of the fathers of mathematical economics, has stated: "There can be little doubt that *every* science as it progresses will become more and more and more quantitative." *The Principles of Science*, 1874 (1900 edition), p. 273.

sampling, scales, control groups and the like, and there is often an almost silly endeavor to provide charts, curves, and graphs to give it a scientific appearance. The "ideal" research project at the present time seems to be one that is concerned with "correlations" between disparate societal phenomena based, if at all possible, on numerous more or less inquisitive questionnaires and interviews (which reminds me of the "discussion of the effect of early environment on the efficiency of war workers" in the delightful parody appearing in the September, 1942, *Reader's Digest*, p. 109).

We can only repeat: socio-statistical surveys can *as such* never bear sociological fruit. Furthermore, quantification is of limited usefulness in a science that deals with interhuman acts.⁴ But to state that man has a free will is, of course, regarded as "unscientific"; to state, however, that his acts are determined by his environment or by his hereditary conditions, is "scientific."

Let us attack from both directions the task put before us by Father Friedel. Let us engage in an "intense study of social matters" (Pius XI), but let us also make certain that we achieve a high degree of scholarliness and understanding by always being fully aware of the location and the bounds of our field of investigation and by knowing the scientific tools which will serve to segregate the very data we are looking for. *Qui bene distinguit, not only bene docet, but also bene investigat.*

FRANZ H. MUELLER

College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn.

* * *

It seems to me that Father Friedel's paper on "Catholic Sociological Research" calls to our attention three important facts.

First, that our Catholic graduate schools have produced little in the way of notable research projects. This, of course, is a situation which will be remedied with the years, now that we are gradually acquiring a body of scholars who may legitimately be called sociologists and who are not chiefly concerned with social philosophy. No social philosopher worthy of the name — to quote Father Friedel — "spins theories that have no relation to social fact." We have had a number of worthwhile Catholic social philosophers. Yet it is certain that since sociology has long since been delimited as a science interested almost wholly in the inductive method, Catholics must not call their social philosophers by the title of sociologist: they must produce men of ability who are interested in sociology as such. On the other hand, we must not fail to note work which has already been accomplished. A number of research projects have been undertaken by Catholics which, when gathered together, carry at least a certain amount of weight. Monsignor Cooper's anthropological studies at the Catholic University of America provide source materials for the cultural sociologist which measure up to

⁴ See Werner Sombart, *Weltanschauung, Science and Economy*, New York, 1939, p. 32.

Father Schmidt's in quality, if not in quantity, and which have the added advantage of not being involved in a theory which is somewhat tenuous and subject to criticism.

The second point that Father Friedel makes is that there is a vast field of research open to Catholics in specifically Catholic subjects which, without exceptional insight, the non-Catholic would not adequately grasp. Although no one would wish Catholic sociologists to limit themselves wholly to subjects of Catholic interest, Father Friedel's point is very true. I remember reading a thesis accepted for a Master's degree by a non-Catholic university of note, on the "religious mores of the Italians" of a certain city. The author of this thesis, a non-Catholic, came to the conclusion that, since some Italians placed candy in the coffin of their dead (proved by a photograph), the Italians in general believed in propitiation of the dead, as in manism. The author failed to examine the dogmatic teachings of the religion professed by these people (Catholicism), and the beliefs and actions of others of the same religion, and therefore failed to show whether the deviation from these teachings was important or of relative insignificance. This omission, of course, considerably reduced the value of the study, and the same study by a competent Catholic would have placed the facts in a more correct setting. It is indeed to be hoped that competent Catholics will undertake some of the Catholic research topics provided in Father Friedel's list, or some of the many other topics which come to one's mind as needful of attention by Catholic students of ability.

Third, Father Friedel makes the point that the Catholic needs to show the way to the non-Catholic sociologist who is not always aware of the implications of "the principle of the existence of God with all its corollaries." Certainly, if Catholic sociologists merely pile up facts about Catholic society and its ways, their studies will be sterile. A synthesis of work accomplished must be undertaken by sociologists of ability and knowledge if sociology as a study is to have human value. Sociologists have rarely maintained the pure inductive method which they advocate, and have frequently drawn unwarranted conclusions based on beliefs and prejudices rather than on the facts which they have gathered and presented, or based on an incomplete view of the facts. If Catholic sociologists can clearly point to the necessity of regarding the whole man and his destiny, if they can show the incomplete nature of inductive studies when dealing with man, with his psychological and spiritual life and needs, if they can show the utter falsity of the all too current belief that monotheism, monogamy and other important social institutions are merely manifestations of a culture which has no norms by which they may be judged, — then indeed will they fill an important role in our scientific age.

EVA J. ROSS

Trinity College, Washington, D. C.

* * *

Challenging and thought provoking is Father Friedel's paper on "Catholic Sociological Research." His points are well taken, and his analysis of the problem is good.

The possibilities for research which are to be found in any Catholic parish, as indicated by Father Friedel, are interesting. There is practically no Catholic college, university, or seminary which offers a course in parochial sociology. This branch of applied sociology has been neglected and ignored for too long a time. Catholics still have a superficial knowledge of the social problem and are amazingly ignorant of the Holy Father's encyclicals. Furthermore, they also possess an inadequate grasp of the methodology of sociological analysis as applied to parish conditions.

Catholics are faced with the same problem which Cardinal Hinsley pointed out; namely, that "the Christian way of life is in danger. And we must not imagine that it is only a direct attack on Christian life which we have to meet. There is an even worse danger; namely, that we ourselves may meet the false claims of a pagan new order, not with resistance, not with a constructive answer, but with indifference and passive acceptance."

One of the principal objectives of parochial sociology is to aid priests and religious in directing the laity to participate in the re-Christianization of the masses and to work for the conquest of those social milieus where the influence of the Church is no longer paramount.

There are three distinct milieus which compete for influence on souls. First, the religious milieu centered around the parish church; secondly, the class milieu evolving principally out of economic and social conditions; and thirdly, the artificial milieu of public opinion as developed by the press, radio, and moving pictures.

Around the parish church a thinned group of really faithful Christians still clusters. The influence of the liturgy of the Church and the ordinary Church services, where the faithful regularly come to hear the teachings of the gospel and to receive the sacraments, is reinforced by old and new confraternities. Added to these are the strong traditions of Christian family life and the patient work of Christian education which perpetuate Christian life and atmosphere.

However, when a young man leaves the well-guarded circles of Catholic schools and family to work for a living and to think for himself, he finds himself in a new environment in which Christianity does by no means occupy the first place. The adult person still goes to Mass on Sunday, but the ordinary work of the weekday life shows other ideas put into practice than those explained to him by his parish priest. Christian ideas have become a thing quite foreign to the rules which govern all forms of industry, commerce, and employment. Through materialistic mass movements, not only among the working class but in every class of society, the number of practically indifferent people is so vast and so widespread that a Christian is forced to resist the social current in order to maintain

his inner dispositions. The spiritual policy of the Church during the last half-century has been ruled by the fact of the de-Christianization of the social classes.

Parochial sociology could go a long way in finding a solution to this problem. The need to apply ourselves both to this problem and the others outlined so ably by Father Friedel is urgent.

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Study of the Catholic Family Through Three Generations

SISTER M. CHRISTINA, I.H.M.

A year ago the department of sociology of which I am a member prepared a questionnaire on the family. Our purpose was to study the effects of city life on the size of the family and the probable consequent effect of decrease in size of family on the number of religious vocations. This questionnaire was given to students in the senior high school and college years. Of 1650 questionnaires, 1135 were returned. The findings of this study, tentative it is true, suggested certain changing aspects of Catholic family life which are challenging. The data of this study which were presented in detail elsewhere will be used for purposes of comparison in the present report.¹ At this point it will be sufficient to say that these 1135 families sampled only a portion of the Catholic population. They were urban families, average in socio-economic status and above average in Catholicity. The latter fact was evidenced in that they had children in a Catholic college or in 11th or 12th grade in a Catholic high school. In these families for the father's, mother's and children's generation there were 227 vocations found in 14 percent of the families.

Since our interest was primarily in the relationship of vocation to factors in family life, we decided to study more intensively families in which vocations were found. This study is still far from complete, but there are certain significant factors which may be presented at this time.

Twenty-eight hundred questionnaires were distributed among the members of ten religious communities. Sixty percent were returned. All these communities are American and they are for the most part engaged in teaching or nursing.

The questionnaire was essentially the same as that given to the students last year except that a few questions directly related to vocation were added.

¹ "Changing Status of American Families." Paper read at the National Conference on Family Life, April 30, 1941, Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wis.

Of the 1733 families investigated (precautions were taken that only one questionnaire should be filled out by a family) we found that 713 were of Irish extraction, 434 of German, 407 of American, and 222 were of miscellaneous stock.

Our study will consider only the Irish, German, and American groups, a total of 1511 subjects.

As the religious answering the questionnaire ranged in age from 18 to 70, we also divided them for certain purposes into three age groups, 18 to 30, 30 to 60, over 60, representing roughly the generations of youth, middle age, and old age.

The economic status of these *vocation families* is definitely average and lower middle class. Thirty-four percent of the fathers are in trade, 19 percent in manufacturing and industry. (All percentages in this paper are in round numbers, .5 or over being counted as 1.) Seventeen percent of the fathers are farmers; 10 percent are in transportation and commerce; another 10 percent are in public service. Only 6 percent are professional people. Except for the agricultural group these data on economic status are approximately the same as those found in the *student families* examined last year.

The great shift in economic status from grandfather's to father's generation is from agriculture to industry and trade. Whereas 17 percent of the fathers of *vocation families* are engaged in agriculture, 50 percent of the grandfathers were. Industry claimed only 9 percent of the grandfathers while it claims 19 percent of the fathers. Trade, transportation and commerce, and public service increase at the expense of the agricultural group. Professional service shows a slight increase from 4 to 6 percent.

When we examine these *families* for the type of community in which the individual was born, we find that 46 percent of the vocation subjects were born in the large city, 19 percent in small cities, 17 percent in small towns, and 19 percent on the farm. Nearly one half of the religious women studied came from families living in large cities. This confirms Father Bowdern's findings; namely, that 55 percent of nuns are born in urban homes; 35 percent in homes in cities of 50,000 population or over.²

Although 46 percent of the vocation subjects were born in the city, only 30 percent of the parents and 20 percent of the grandparents were city born. The percentage of individuals, parents and grand-

² Thomas S. Bowdern, S.J. *A Study of Vocations*. Ph.D. Thesis in St. Louis University Library.

parents born in the small city and small town remains fairly constant. The percentage of individuals and grandparents born on the farm is almost the reverse of those born in the city. The percentage for parents is nearly identical — 30 for the city, 31 for the farm. The mobility from farm to city in this group is much the same as in the *student families*. Forty-six percent of the grandfathers and 23 percent of the fathers in that group were born on the farm. In the *vocation families* it is 50 percent of the grandfathers and 32 percent of the fathers.

A large percentage of those questioned gave information relative to the working status of their mother. Seventy-two percent of the mothers worked before marriage; 7 percent worked after marriage. In the 1100 *student families* it was found that 79 percent of the mothers worked before marriage, 10 percent after marriage.

A comparison of nationality groups reveals that 68 percent of the Irish, 81 percent of the German and 67 percent of the American mothers worked before marriage; 6 percent of the Irish, 6 percent of the German and 9 percent of the American mothers worked after marriage.

The data on the intermingling of Catholics and non-Catholics in the *vocation families* are interesting as indicating a definite trend in the American Catholic family. 1194 or 79 percent of the subjects gave information on this question. Of these 1194, 3 percent have a non-Catholic parent, 10 percent have a convert parent; 27 percent have non-Catholic blood relatives and 49 percent state that members of their families have married non-Catholics.

A non-Catholic parent occurs twice as often in the German and American as in the Irish group while a convert parent occurs three times as often in the German and four times as often in the American as in the Irish group. Eighteen percent of the Irish, twice this percentage of the Germans, and three times of the Americans have non-Catholic blood-relatives. Forty-five percent of the Irish, 56 percent of the Germans and 62 percent of the Americans state that members of their families have married non-Catholics.

If we look at this problem of the intermingling of Catholics and non-Catholics in terms of age groups we find that 22 percent or about two-tenths of those answering were below 30 years, one-tenth were over 60 and about seven-tenths were between 30 and 60 years. Three percent of both the young and middle age groups have a non-Catholic parent whereas less than 2 percent of the over 60 group have. Seven-

teen percent of the young group have a convert parent, compared to 10 percent of the middle age group and 6 percent of the older group. Thirty-eight percent of the young group have non-Catholic blood relatives, but only 25 percent of the middle group and 23 percent of the older group have. Fifty-six percent of the young group report intermarriage of members of their families with non-Catholics in contrast to 43 percent for the middle group and 42 percent for the oldest group.

It seems from these data that a marked increase in intermarriage with non-Catholics is noticeable among the younger generation of Catholics in America.

Mixed marriages are not nearly so prevalent among the *vocation families* as among the *student families*. In the latter, 8 percent had non-Catholic parents while in the former it is 3 percent. The percentage of convert parents is also lower in the vocation group; 10 as compared with 16 in the *student group*. Fifty-eight percent of these *student families* also had non-Catholic blood relatives as compared with 27 percent for the *vocation families*. Is there a definite relationship between degree of Catholicity and intermarriage with non-Catholics?

Of the 1511 subjects answering the questionnaire 98 percent gave information on whether or not they and members of their family had been educated in a Catholic school.

Of the Sisters themselves, 88 percent of those answering, had gone to a Catholic school. We did not ask how much of their education was obtained in the parochial school, however. The same percentage (88) stated that their brothers and sisters also attended a parochial school. The parents of 53 percent of the subjects went to a parochial school — 56 percent of the mothers and 50 percent of the fathers. Catholic education seems, therefore, to be a definite mark of the *vocation families*.

Slightly more than one-fourth of the individual Sisters who answered that they had attended a parochial school are in the young age group. Of these, 91 percent had a Catholic education. Of the Sisters in the middle age group, 86 percent had attended the parochial school; of the older group, 82 percent. Catholic education is, therefore, more prevalent in the younger than in the older age groups. (It may be well to call to mind, however, that opportunities for Catholic training have greatly increased in the last twenty years.) Catho-

lic education is also more prevalent with children of American parentage than with those of Irish or German parentage.

How and when do religious decide on their vocation? The answer to this question may help give a pertinent answer to many of the questions on vocation which have been coming up in the past months in the pages of *America*.³

Nearly all subjects, 1474 out of 1511, answered the questions on how and when they came to a decision on their vocation. Seventy-three percent say that the decision was a matter of long pondering; 24 percent that it was a matter of a sudden light; 3 percent that it was both.

The age of decision and the age of receiving the religious habit reveal some interesting facts. Fourteen percent of these Sisters had decided their vocation by the age of 12 years. Of this 14 percent, 60 percent were Irish, 16 percent German and 22 percent American. By far the majority of Sisters, 68 percent, decided their vocation during adolescence between the ages of 13 and 19. Only 19 percent decided their vocation after they were 19 years old. Forty-three percent of all the Irish, 9 percent of all the Germans and 15 percent of all the Americans studied decided their vocation between the ages of 13 and 19. The most important ages for the decision of vocation are 15, 16, 17 and 18 years — with the highest percentage at 16 years (16 percent) and a close second at 17 years (13 percent).

It was found that 52 percent of all subjects answering received the religious habit at the age of 19 or younger. The two most important ages for reception into religious communities of women are 18 and 19. Sixteen percent of all religious subjects investigated received the religious habit at 18 years; 19 percent, at 19 years. Approximately 50 percent of each nationality group became novices by the age of 20 years.

Nearly 97 percent of the subjects gave information on the time intervening between deciding on their vocation and following it. About one-fourth entered the convent within a year after the decision

³ *America* carried the following articles: Edward F. Garesché, S.J., "Fewer Girls Become Nuns: An Inquiry into the Causes," April 5, 1941, 64:705-7; Sister M. Christina, I.H.M., "Check-up On Vocation Problem," June 28, 1941, 65:317-18; Edward F. Garesché, S.J., "The Brothers Carry On But Need Young Recruits," November 29, 1941; Edward F. Garesché, S.J., "Congenial Soil For Vocations," February 14, 1942, 66:511-12. See also the letters in *Correspondence* section of *America*: July 19, July 26, August 9, August 16, August 23, October 18, October 25, and November 28, 1941.

was made; a total of 43 percent had entered within two years after the decision was made. Another 29 percent, making a total of 72 percent, entered within 5 years after making their decision. Of the remaining 28 percent, about 12 percent took more than ten years. Probably a considerable proportion of the group which took more than five years to enter is made up of the 39 percent who state that they had made their decision by the age of 15 — some few as early as 5 or 6 years.

In our consideration of the *student families* we were able to work out some data, probably significant, on the rate of vocations for both boys and girls in the parents' as compared with the children's generation. We found that 14 percent of the families had one vocation in the father's, mother's or children's branch.

Our present report is, of course, merely an intensive study of a representative group of *vocation families*. All *vocation families* in the United States probably constitute less than one-tenth of the total number of Catholic families in the population since there is, roughly speaking, one vocation per hundred Catholics.

The proportion of boys' and girls' vocations we found to be 1 to 3.3 in the *student families*. In the *vocation families* of girls the proportion is 1 to 10. When we compare the parents' generation in our present data with the parents' generation of the *student families* we find that the rate for boys and girls is exactly the same — .8 for boys, 2.8 for girls, 1.8 for both.

Another question of interest is whether or not vocations run in families. The answer was decidedly *No* in the *student families* studied. It is a somewhat less decidedly *No* in this study, however. We do find that there are vocations in the father's or mother's generation (on either or both sides) and in the children's generation in 244 or about 12 percent of the total number of vocations. These duplications of vocation occur with about the same frequency for Irish, German and American families. They occur about once in eight cases in families having 1 to 3 children; once in six in families having 4 to 7 children; and a little less than once in five of the families having over 7 children.

The size of family seems to be an important factor in the rate of vocations. We found in our first study that 3 percent of all vocations came from families having 3 or fewer children; 40 percent came from families having 4 to 7 children, and 57 percent from families having more than 7 children. In the *vocation families*, 11 per-

cent of the vocations come from families having 3 or fewer children; 40 percent from families having 4 to 7 children; 49 percent from families having 7 or more children. Vocations, it seems, come more commonly from large families.

It can also be shown that large families give more vocations per family than do smaller ones. In the families of the Sisters questioned, 222 families having 3 or fewer children contributed 235 girls' vocations and 9 boys' vocations — about 1.1 vocation per family; families having 4 to 7 children contributed 759 girls' vocations and 55 boys' vocations — 1.3 vocation per family; 625 families having 7 or more children contributed 896 girls' vocations and 75 boys' vocations — 1.6 vocation per family. The average of vocations for all families is 1.4. These are almost identical ratios with those obtained in the study of *student families*.

We found in our *student families* a considerable decline in the rate of vocations from parent to children's generation. This decline was in the vocations of the girls, the boys showing a slight increase. In the parents' generation for both *student* and *vocation families* the rate of vocations as we have stated, was found to be .8 for boys, 2.8 for girls, 1.8 for both.

The rate of vocations for boys and girls in the *student families* is 1.6. This is .8 higher for boys and 1.2 lower for girls than the rate in the parents' generation. In the *vocation families* we would expect the rate of vocations for girls would be very high since these families have been chosen in view of one daughter at least having a vocation. The rate is actually 32. (This means that 32 percent of the daughters of the *vocation families* have a religious vocation.)

The rate of vocations for boys in the *vocation families* is also much higher than that found in the *student families* — 3.5 as compared with 1.6. Our *vocation families* viewed in this way, give no data on the decline of vocations from parent to children's generation.

However, if we divide the religious subjects into two groups, 18 to 30 years and 30 to 60 years, we get age groups comparable to those of parents and children in the *students' study*. We can compare, therefore, the rate of vocations per family in the two age groups, which should give some index of the decline of vocations in the present generation.

Whereas the rate of vocations is 1.1 for families with 3 or fewer children in the student study, and also 1.1 for all *vocation families* with three or fewer children regardless of age group, it is 1.2 for

families of this size in the 18 to 30 age group. The 1 to 3 children families in the younger age group shows, therefore, a slight increase in the average rate of vocations. The rate in the 4 to 7 and the over 7 children families of this younger age group are 1.3 and 1.6 respectively. This is a higher rate than for the *student families* and also a higher rate than for families of like size in the 30 to 60 age group. Does this mean that while fewer families are giving vocations to the Church today, those that are giving them are giving more children on the average than did *vocation families* a generation ago?

To summarize:

1. The great shift in economic status from grandfather's to father's generation is from agriculture to industry and trade.

2. There is a considerable shift of population (26 percent) from rural to urban residence in the course of two generations.

3. The largest percentage (46 percent) of the vocation subjects studied were born in a large city.

4. Mothers of *vocation families* work outside the home both before and after marriage, in a slightly lesser degree than do mothers of the *student families*.

5. There is a marked increase in intermarriage with non-Catholics in the younger generation.

6. The great majority of vocation subjects have been educated in parochial schools.

7. Members of *vocation families* in parents' and children's generation are trained in Catholic schools to a great degree (53 and 88 percent respectively.)

8. The significant ages for the decision of vocations are 16 and 17.

9. Fifty percent of the religious questionnaires were novices by the age of 20.

10. The number of vocations and also the rate of vocations are greater from large than from small families.

11. In *vocation families* there seems to be an increase in the rate of vocations in the younger as compared to the older age group.

Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan

— QUESTIONNAIRE —

Please do not put your name on this questionnaire. The information desired is to be used in a scientific study on population changes as shown in size of family, place of residence, occupation and religious vocations over a period of three generations. As a participant in this study the information you give must be exact.

Will you, therefore, answer each question as completely and as exactly as is possible for you to do?

1. Have you a Sister in this Community?
2. Has she filled out this questionnaire? (If so, you need not fill out this copy.)

* * *

I

1. How many children were there in your own family? Boys Girls
2. How many lived to be 21? Boys Girls
3. How many died as children? Boys Girls
4. How many boys became priests?
5. How many boys became Brothers?
6. How many boys are seminarians now?
7. How many girls became Sisters (including you)?
8. Where were you born? Name of: city country
9. Were you born in a large city, a small city, a small town, or on a farm?
(Cross out all but the answer.)
10. Did you go to a Catholic school?
For what grades?
11. Did your brothers and sisters go to a Catholic school?
12. Did your father attend a Catholic school?
13. Did your mother attend a Catholic school?
14. What work did (or does) your father do?
15. What work did your mother do before she married?
16. Did your mother work for any considerable period after she was married?
17. How old were you when you decided that you had a vocation?
18. How old were you when you received the habit?
19. How long are you professed?
20. Was the deciding of your vocation the result of long pondering, or was it a sudden light?

II

1. Where was your father born? Name of: city country
2. Was he born in a large city, small city, small town, on a farm?
(Cross out all but the answer.)
3. Where was your mother born? Name of: city country
4. Was she born in a large city, small city, small town, on a farm?
(Cross out all but the answer.)
5. How many children were there in your father's family? ... Boys ... Girls...
6. How many of your father's brothers became priests? Brothers?
Are seminarians?
7. How many of your father's sisters became Sisters?
8. How many children were there in your mother's family? .. Boys .. Girls..
9. How many of your mother's brothers became priests? Brothers?
Are seminarians?
10. How many of your mother's sisters became Sisters?
11. Are either of your parents non-Catholics? Which?
12. Are either of your parents converts? Which?

13. Have you non-Catholics who are blood relatives? How close are they?
.....
14. Have members of your family married non-Catholics? How close
are they?
15. Where were your grandparents born? In a:

Name of	City	Country	Large city	Small city	Small town	Farm
Father's father						
Father's mother						
Mother's father						
Mother's mother						

16. What was your father's father's occupation?
17. What was your mother's father's occupation?
18. If you can answer, fill out the following:

Family of :	No. of children	Boys	Girls	Priests	Brothers	Sisters	Att. Cath. School
Father's father							
Father's mother							
Mother's father							
Mother's mother							

Nationality and Leakage

GERALD J. SCHNEPP, S.M.

Certain countries are considered to be "traditionally Catholic" nations because the majority of their citizens demonstrate a deep attachment to the faith. Immediately there springs to mind the thought of the Irish, the Spanish, the Italian, and the Polish nationalities, whose cultures are deeply steeped in a Catholicism that has had to fight strenuously for centuries against paganism and, later, anti-Catholicism. What one fights for one loves dearly. France, the "eldest daughter of the Church," and Germany, source of much militant Catholicism in the course of history, have also been thought of as Catholic countries, although their nationals can be considered traditionally Catholic to a somewhat lesser extent than the aforementioned only because Protestantism has bored more deeply into their ranks.

On the other hand, certain countries can be classified as "traditionally Protestant" since the larger portion of their nationals is attached to one or more Protestant sects. Examples of such countries are England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These are countries in which the Catholic Church lost large numbers of adherents in the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century, so that even today Catholics in these countries are struggling minorities.

The United States can be classified neither as "traditionally Catholic" nor as "traditionally Protestant" since the majority of its citizens profess adherence to no specified denomination. If anything in the realm of religion is traditional in this country, it is the tradition of religious freedom, incorporated in the foundations of the founding fathers. But the faith and culture which the colonists and immigrants brought with them constitute the religious and cultural foundations upon which our American way of life was built.

The persistence of culture traits in a nationality group which tears itself away from the homeland is well known. It was but natural that the traditionally Catholic colonists and the traditionally Protestant colonists continued to adhere to their respective faiths here in America, at least for a time. Sociologically speaking, it would be expected that the earliest arrivals, coming to a virgin coun-

try where a culture was undeveloped, would more likely adhere to their native culture, and, in fact, attempt to impress that culture on the new land. Correlatively, later immigrants, and especially their children, would more likely reject the ancient culture in favor of that of the country of their adoption.

But religion cannot be considered "just another culture trait," along with such random culture traits as language, dress, and customs of courtship. For there is no doubt that religion affects the inner being far more profoundly than the ordinary culture trait, which may be adopted or discarded according to the formula "when in Rome, do as the Romans do." On the other hand, it would be just as false to maintain that religion is so deeply ingrained in every individual that his practice of it is unaffected by environmental conditions. The history of the Catholic immigration to this country confirms these statements.

In his survey *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?*, the Most Rev. Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., made a study of the problem of nationality and leakage as it affected the whole country, and some of his conclusions are well worth remembering. We summarize them here: There has been no enormous loss of Catholics and probably no loss at all, "beyond that defection of Catholics which ordinarily takes place among any population." Further, without the immigration of the past century, the Church would today be "a weak, anemic body," instead of, as it really is, "the equal of any, if not indeed superior to all, in loyalty, vitality, fidelity and stability."¹

In the light of these national findings, it is of interest to learn the results of a study of the nationality groupings of a single parish.² Selected for the study was a large urban parish on the Atlantic seaboard — which we shall fictitiously call St. Patrick's Parish — in which a thorough parish visitation was made in order to discover what relationships, if any, existed between leakage and various social, economic, and religious factors. Among the factors selected was nationality.

¹ Most Rev. Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (N. Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 221-222.

² Gerald J. Schnepf, S.M., *Leakage from a Catholic Parish* (Kirkwood, Mo.: Maryhurst Press, 1942). The material contained in the present article is largely drawn from this dissertation which was presented to the faculty of the School of Social Work of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Before discussing the findings of the study, it might be of value to the reader to know the method used in classifying individuals according to nationalities. The foreign-born were classified according to the country of their origin. The native-born of foreign-born parents were classified according to the nation of their parents. Thus, children of parents both of whom were born in Ireland were classified as "Irish." If one parent was born in Germany and the other in Ireland, the children were classified German-Irish. Native-born of native parentage were classified as "American."

An attempt was first made to trace the nationality minglings within the parish by comparing the nationality of the parents with that of their children. This analysis showed that while 32 percent of the parents were Irish, only 17 percent of the children were of this nationality. About half of the Irish parents, then, had intermarried with other nationality groups and these were found to be, mostly, the German and the American. Thus, while the parish suffered a 46 percent decline in Irish families, it gained a 650 percent increase in German-Irish families, and a 225 percent increase in Irish-American families in the past generation.

A similar and related change took place in the case of the German parents. While 19 percent of all parents were German, only eight percent of the children were German. Thus, while German families declined 58 percent, German-Irish families showed a 650 percent increase and German-American families a 250 percent increase.

The percentage of American parents and American children was about the same — 25 percent and 24 percent respectively.

From these facts it was clear that considerable intermarriage had taken place between Irish, Germans, and Americans to form the nationality distribution of the parish. The American nationality predominated; next in order came the Irish, the German-Irish, and the Irish-American. If these last three were combined to represent the Irish influence in the parish, they comprised 45 percent of the families. If the German, German-Irish, and the German-American were combined to get a measure of the German influence, they totaled 30 percent of the families.

Italian families comprised six percent of the families, Polish families one percent, and all others, nine percent.³

³ The majority of those classified under "all others" were combinations of the dominant groups with other nationalities. Among those included were: Belgian-Irish, Bohemian-Irish, Dutch-Irish, English-Irish, French-Irish, Italian-Irish, Jewish-Irish, Lithuanian-Irish, Russian-Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Spanish-Irish; Aus-

A factor that must be considered in attempting to analyze the findings on the basis of religious status is the fact that, located a few blocks away from the parish under study was a German national parish, which we shall call by the fictitious name of St. Boniface parish. In fact, the area was originally settled by Germans in the mid-nineteenth century and St. Boniface's was established to serve the religious needs of all the Germans in the city. Later, the Irish came in and, desiring a church of their own, established St. Patrick's.

Since the dominant nationality in St. Patrick's is Irish, the influence of that nationality may be presumed to be rather strong. It may therefore be expected, since we are dealing here with a traditionally Catholic nationality, that the religious status of these Irish families would show a rather high percentage of practicing Catholic families. Actually, measured by the religious status yardstick⁴ used in the study, between 70 and 75 percent of the Irish and Irish-American families are practicing families, which is about the same as the general average for the parish. We seem to have confirmation here of Bishop Shaughnessy's conclusion that, "It is very probable that there has been no loss at all, beyond that defection of Catholics which ordinarily takes place among any population, due to the weakness of human nature and the usual manifestations of the same."⁵

Of some significance, however, is the fact that only 62 percent of the German-Irish were practicing families. Does this combination mean a weakening of the faith? In trying to answer this question it may be well to mention that the obvious reason why Germans and Irish intermarried was because they lived side by side; persons tend to select a mate from among those with whom they live and work in close proximity. Not so obvious, however, is the reason

trian-American, Belgian-American, Danish-American, Dutch-American, English-American, French-American, Italian-American, Lithuanian-American, Polish-American, Scotch-American, and Swiss-American; English-German, French-German, Italian-German, Norwegian-German, Polish-German, and Scotch-German.

⁴ It is difficult to explain completely the "religious status yardstick" here. Suffice it to say that only external religious practices were used in designating families "practicing," "of mixed religious status," or "lapsed." For example, if all the members of a family were failing to live up to any one seriously obligatory practice of the faith such as Church-approved marriage, reception of the sacraments at certain ages, Sunday Mass, Friday abstinence, etc., the whole family was classified as "lapsed." If some were practicing and some were not, the family was designated as "of mixed religious status." If all were practicing, the family was classified as "practicing." For details, see Schnepf, *op. cit.*, 16-20.

⁵ Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

why these German-Irish claimed to belong to St. Patrick's rather than to St. Boniface's.

While no absolute answer to the question can be given, a theory arrived at through conversations with the parishioners can be suggested. It is simply this: perhaps the Germans weak in the faith severed their connection with the national parish in order to evade the priests of that church. But they wished to retain some parish affiliation, so they attached themselves to St. Patrick's. Thus they felt secure from priestly "interference" in their lives, since the "Irish priests" would be chiefly interested in their own people. The validity of this theory is supported by the fact that only 62 percent of the German-Irish families were practicing families; it gains even greater weight when it is known that slightly less than 50 percent of the German families were practicing — a considerable deviation from the parish average of 70 to 75 percent.

If this theory is valid, it may also be true that some German-Irish families in which the Irish partner is weak claimed to belong to St. Boniface's, for the same line of reasoning would hold in such cases. Unfortunately, there is no way of checking this possibility, since no complete visitation of St. Boniface parish was made by the writer.

In any case, the present situation is not a desirable one. Every Catholic should belong to a definite parish. Where parish boundaries are established, parish membership is easy to determine; where they are not, as in this case, evasion can easily be practiced.

To meet this situation, which exists in many other localities throughout the country, the Rev. Henry W. Francis has suggested the adoption of the following four procedures:

- (1) to establish non-overlapping boundaries; (2) to permit each parish to retain its present older generation parishioners no matter where located unless they move into other parish limits; (3) to make it compulsory that all new-comers to parish territory and all newly married couples be *ipso facto* members of the parish in whose territory they reside; (4) to urge school children to attend the school of the parish in whose territory they reside. . . .⁶

In the situation under consideration, non-overlapping boundaries could be established, even though the churches are but a few blocks apart. In fact, the chancery office was considering such action at

⁶ Rev. Henry William Francis, "The Dying National Parish and Compulsory Membership Registration," *Ecclesiastical Review* (October, 1936).

the time the study was made. That people would respect these boundaries is open to grave doubt, because members of St. Patrick's were found throughout the area; actually, one or two families were living directly across the street from St. Boniface's. The same holds true of the parishioners of the latter. However, there is little doubt that eventually, after the present generation passes on, most of the people could be induced to respect the boundaries, for the differences which once existed between the two churches are today more imaginary than real.⁷

The third suggestion of Father Francis, compulsory membership registration, hardly seems necessary in the present situation since the population is relatively stable. The fourth suggestion would depend largely on popular acceptance of, and respect for, the parish boundaries.

By reason of the fact that relations between the two parishes were excellent at the time the study was made the possibility suggests itself that, instead of separating, the two churches unite their resources. This was being done already, as a matter of fact by some of the parishioners, unofficially, of course. For example, some people used St. Patrick's gymnasium and St. Boniface's bowling alleys. Others assisted at St. Patrick's 11 o'clock Mass on some Sundays, and at the 12:15 Mass at St. Boniface's on others. Overlapping of activities could be prevented more easily than overlapping of territory. One church could have Masses on the hour and the other on the half-hour. The public school children in the area could be instructed several times a week by the priests of St. Patrick's during the first semester; during the second semester the other church could take over this activity. School facilities could be combined. Conceivably also, one month the priests of the national church could handle all sick calls; the next month the priests of St. Patrick's might carry on this ministration. Perhaps the headquarters of the Holy Name Society could be at St. Patrick's and that of the Sodality at St. Boniface's. And so on down the line. If such a cooperative plan

⁷ St. Boniface's was established under the condition that in perpetuity some services be conducted in the German tongue. Today, only the letter of this prescription is still observed as the Divine Praises after Benediction and a few other short prayers are said in German; the remainder and by far the majority of the services are conducted in English. Services are directly comparable to those offered in regularly established parish churches. Further, the school is no longer designed primarily to serve those who wish their children to speak German, and the social activities of the parish are conducted in much the same way as in St. Patrick's.

could be worked out and carried through, it would lighten the load on each parish, eliminate the duplication of services, and strengthen the Church in the area at the same time that it would furnish a beautiful and unique example of Catholic community action.

There remain for consideration the relationships that seem to exist between nationality and number of children, and nationality and length of time in the parish.

In all major nationality groups in St. Patrick's parish the one-child family was the dominating type except for the Italian in which two-thirds of the families had three or more children. About half of the Irish, German, and German-American families were in the childless and one-child groups, a somewhat higher percentage than other nationalities. The explanation seemed to lie in the fact that most of these pure German and Irish families were old families — the children had left the home. But this explanation did not seem to hold for the German-American families.

The Italian families had the highest average number of children, 2.7 per family. The two nationality mixtures which seemed to have been most frequent in recent years, the German-Irish and the Irish-American ranked next, with an average of 2.0 and 1.9 children per family respectively. The American families, which comprised the largest number, averaged 1.8 children, and the Irish families and the German-American families had the same average. Ranking lowest were the German families with an average of only 1.4. The general average number of children in unbroken homes of the parish was 2.1.

From the viewpoint of leakage, the relatively small average number of children gives cause for concern. True, general averages for cities of comparable size are even lower than St. Patrick's 2.1; Ogburn and Tibbitts found a sample of Chicago's unbroken families averaging .85 children per family.⁸ Slight consolation can be drawn from this fact, however, since a decline in the Catholic population is, in a sense, equivalent to leakage. It is leakage not in the sense that living Catholics have been lost but in that the Church has lost members who were never born, although they could and should have been born. Since most of the accretions to the body Catholic come from births of children and since an increase in numbers is desirable, it would seem that a larger family than the average American family is necessary to assure future strength for the Church in America.

⁸ William F. Ogburn and Clark Tibbitts, "The Family and its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends* (N. Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), 683.

Re-examining our figures on nationality and number of children, we found that in St. Patrick's parish only one nationality, the Italian, was very far above the parish average. But the Italian group constituted only six percent of the parish and hence their contribution in children was relatively slight. It would seem to be true, then, that the Irish and Germans, who had been in this country a longer time, had lost the tradition of large families which was definitely part of the culture of the land of their birth and had adopted in its stead the trend toward small families, a common culture trait of the American urban community.

In considering the length of time spent in the parish, it was found that of the 1,455 husbands and wives whose nationality was known, 58 percent were life members of the parish and the remaining 42 percent had come into it within their lifetime.

By nationality, the Irish had the highest number of life members, 35 percent of the total; the Americans, 29 percent; and the Germans, 18 percent. Thus, these three accounted for 82 percent of the husbands and wives who had lived within the boundaries of the parish all their lives.

From a religious status point of view, 73 percent of the life members were practicing Catholics. Variations appeared when the three principal nationality groups were considered separately: 80 percent of the American, 70 percent of the Irish, and 62 percent of the German life members were practicing.

Among the non-life members of the parish, the same nationalities were dominant, but the proportionate numbers varied. The Irish and Americans formed a somewhat smaller proportion of the non-life members — 28 and 21 percent, respectively. The Germans showed a slightly higher percentage — 21 percent compared with 18 percent — and this variation tended to corroborate what was previously pointed out, i.e., that some of the Germans, originally members of the national parish, had switched membership.

From a religious status point of view, there was some evidence to show that life members were living up to the faith somewhat better than non-life members. For example, while 73 percent of the life members were practicing Catholics, only 64 percent of the non-life members were in this category. By individual nationalities, there was also some variation: 80 percent of the American life members but only 63 percent of the non-life members in this nationality group were practicing Catholics. In the case of the Itali-

ans, the corresponding figures were 81 percent and 53 percent, the extreme variation. In the case of the Irish and Germans, the differences were slight. But the trend seemed to be that, for all nationalities except the Polish, a larger number, proportionately, of life members than non-life members were practicing Catholics.

This finding agrees with Sorokin's theory of the relation of social mobility to moral stability:

In a mobile society, the members . . . cannot be inculcated with rigid and definite habits, and the habits themselves cannot have the same degree of stability as those inculcated in an immobile society. Hence, the greater (sic! should be *lesser*?) moral stability of the members of a mobile society. . . .⁹

An important factor in growth is the movement of new nationalities groups into the parish. From the standpoint of leakage it is of value to know if these newer groups are practicing or lapsed Catholics.

For St. Patrick's parish, something can be said only for the Italian and Polish nationalities. The trend seemed to be toward a decline of Italian families. Although some new families had come into the parish in recent years, the numbers had been steadily decreasing. On the other hand, Polish wives and husbands seemed to be coming into the parish in ever-increasing numbers. This was interpreted as the beginning of a movement of Polish families into the parish. The fact that a parish commonly considered to be "75 percent Polish" was directly adjacent to St. Patrick's explained the source of the influx and seemed to guarantee its continuance.

From the viewpoint of stemming leakage, both these movements appeared advantageous. As seen above, the Italian non-life members showed a low proportion of practicing Catholics, and, if these people were coming in in fewer numbers, that was an advantage for the parish. Just the opposite was noted in the case of the recent Polish arrivals; among them, relatively little leakage was apparent. Eighty percent of the Poles were classified as heads of practicing Catholic families, the highest of any non-life membership nationality group. If more of these people were coming into the parish, St. Patrick's would reap the benefit in a stauncher Catholic population.

The study of St. Patrick's parish, then, showed that the nationals of traditionally Catholic countries were the backbone of the parish life. Parts of the study not touched on in this paper showed

⁹ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (N. Y. Harper and Brothers, 1927) 526.

that they were devoted to their pastor and their parish, that they cooperated in parish activities, and that they supported the church and school to the best of their ability. The exceptions to this rule could be classified under what Bishop Shaughnessy would call "that defection of Catholics which ordinarily takes place among any population," but the large majority of the parishioners of St. Patrick's justifies his final conclusion: "It is due to immigration that the Catholic Church in America today stands out among her sister Churches of other nations, the equal of any, if not indeed superior to all, in loyalty, vitality, fidelity and stability."¹⁰

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¹⁰ Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

The Concept of "Social Process" in American Sociology

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The *social process* is a concept which has grown out of the application of the laws of biology, specifically botany, to the phenomena of social life of human beings. Ever since the divorce between society and the moral order ("moral" in the philosophical sense), the science of society has adopted several "knowns" from which to proceed to the "unknown" causes of human conduct. The earliest analogy was that between society and mathematics — the work of August Comte, the father of sociology.

Another part-time philosopher who attached the diction of a natural science to the phenomena of human association was the famous biologist, Herbert Spencer, who in his *Principles of Sociology*¹ declared that "society is an organism" and then proceeded to point out the similarities and note the differences in his "identities," for the word has, of course, a different meaning in each field. From the earlier editions of Spencer's work, Giddings borrowed the term and seems to have been the earliest writer in this country to use it. He differentiated between physical and psychical social process² but on the whole used the term in a different sense than did Albion Small of the University of Chicago. Small's idea seems to have been originally expressed by Gumplowicz, modified by Ratzenhofer, and popularized in America by Small himself. He defined the term as a "collection of occurrences, each of which has a meaning for every other, the whole of which constitutes some sort of becoming"³ and, elaborating upon this, he explained:

Every portion of human experience has relations which require application of this concept, "process." Every act of every man has a meaning for every act of every other man.

He quoted with approval E. A. Ross' *Foundations of Sociology* which was also issued in 1905,

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¹ Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1910, Vol. I, Part II.

² F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1896, pp. 363-99.

³ A. Small, *General Sociology*, Chicago, 1905, p. 513.

At the beginning of every uniformity may be found a process which process exhibits a regularity that permits the formulation of laws.⁴

Ross himself proceeded with an analogy which somewhat clarified this statement and at the same time pointed to the omnipresent Spencerian motif:

A product is, moreover, discovered sooner than the process which lies behind it. It is easy to perceive that the commonplace person is what he is, by reason of the culture and conventions which have surrounded him from childhood. But it is difficult to rend the veil that enshrouds these elements and detect how they themselves arose out of the initiatives of bygone men. Just as anatomy was developed long before embryology, so the presence of deposits of collective thought and action was perceived long before the chemistry by which they were precipitated. Professor Durkheim's case well illustrates this point. Here is a thinker who realizes vividly the constraint exercised upon the individual by the plexus of social forms about him, yet stands helpless before the task of explaining just how these forms came to be.⁵

Small's own exposition of the social process concluded with a prophecy that at once points out the incompleteness of his definition and the futility of such forecasting:

A theorem of which no demonstration can be presented may be ventured gratuitously, viz: If we are justified in drawing any general conclusions whatever from human experience thus far, it is safe to say that the social process tends to put an increasing proportion of individuals in possession of all the goods which have been discovered by the experience of humanity as a whole, and that all social programs should be thought out with a view to promotion of this tendency. . . . More and better life by more and better people, beyond any limit of time or quality that our minds can set is the indicated content of the social process.⁶

Charles Horton Cooley, whom Max Lerner⁷ identifies as the most illustrious exponent of the social process concept, published his *Social Process* in 1918. In his *Development of Sociology*,⁸ Floyd House differentiated between Cooley's concept of the social process and those of previous writers thus:

⁴E. A. Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, New York, 1905, p. 91.

⁵*Ibid.* p. 92.

⁶*Ibid.* pp. 522-23.

⁷Max Lerner, "Social Process," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*.

⁸Floyd House, *Development of Sociology*, New York, 1936, p. 310.

The term social process seems to have been used by sociologists with at least two different meanings. On the one hand, following the lead of Gumpłowicz and Simmel, it has been taken to mean, primarily, some particular pattern of interaction among human beings or groups, one that is susceptible of being described in general terms. On the other hand, social process has been used by some sociologists to refer primarily to a generalizable sequence of social developments or changes. It was in this latter sense chiefly that Small used the term and this is, on the whole, the sense in which it was used by Cooley in his *Social Process*. In either case, however, the approach to the study of social change which is mediated by the concept of social process is an effort on the part of sociologists to get away from the philosophy of history and to state a theory of change in conformity with the general viewpoint of science. The essence of the effort is either to substitute a conception of repetition and consequent comparability for the historical conception of unique events or to explain change as the effect of the working of changeless forces.

The contents of Cooley's book: *The Organic View of the Process of Human Life, Degeneration, Social Factors in Biological Survival*, etc., these indicate by their very terminology their affinity with the biological viewpoint. Quoting Cooley directly:

You may sometimes see one vine growing upon another, involving the mutual adaptation of two living forms. In human life this is the usual condition, the environment being not something fixed but another plastic organism, interacting in turn with still other organisms, giving rise to an endless system of reciprocal growth. One form of life feels about among the various openings or stiluli offered by another, and responds to those which are most congruous with its own tendencies. The two experiment with each other and discover and develop some way, more or less congenial, of getting along. This is evidently true of persons, and the principle applies equally to groups, ideas and institutions.

We have, at any given moment, a complex of personal and impersonal wholes each of which is charged with energy and tendency in the form of heredity and habit coming from its past. If we fix our attention upon any particular whole — a person, a party, a state, a doctrine, a programme of reform, a myth, a language — we shall find it in the act of making its way, of growing if it can, in the direction of its tendencies. As we have seen, it is alive, however impersonal, and has human flesh, blood, and nerves to urge it on. It already has adapted structure — hands and feet as Luther said of the Word of God — because if it had not developed something of the sort, some

fitness to live in the general stream of human life, we should not in fact find it there. As its means for further growth, it has a repertory of available activities and these, consciously or otherwise, are tried upon the situation. If not guided by something in the nature of intelligence they act blindly, and may nevertheless act effectively. In general some one or some combination of these activities will work better in the situation than others, finding more scope or stimulus of some sort, and will grow accordingly; the energies of the whole, so far as they are available, tending to find an outlet at this point. Thus the more a thing works the more it is enabled to work, since the fact that it functions draws more and more energy to it. And the whole to which it belongs, in thus continuing and enhancing the successful activity, behaves very much as if it were conducting a deliberate experiment. The enhanced activity also involves changes in the whole and in the situation at large; and thus we move on to new situations and new operations of the same principle.

and a few pages later:

If we take society to include the whole of human life, this may truly be said to be organic, in the sense that influences may be and are transmitted from one part to any other part, so that all parts are bound together into an interdependent whole. We are all one life, and its various phases — Europe, Asia, and America; democracy, militarism and socialism; state, church and commerce; cities, villages, and families; and so on to the particular persons, Tom, Dick, and Harry — may all be regarded, without the slightest strain upon the facts, as organs of this whole, growing and functioning under particular conditions, according to the adaptive process already discussed.

Another notable thing about this strange complex is the overlapping and interpenetration of the various forms, so that each part of the whole belongs to more than one organic system — somewhat as in one of those picture-puzzles where the same lines form part of several faces, which you must discover if you can . . . each personality includes ideas and feelings reflected from others. . . .

Perhaps the first requisite in the making of a sociologist is that he learn to see things habitually in this way.

If, then, we say that society is an organism, we mean, I suppose, that it is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest.*

One notable school disapproves of the social process concept of

* *Ibid.* pp. 26-28.

Cooley and substitutes therefor the less controversial and more obvious term of *social change*. Keller of Yale, a pupil of Sumner, has so named the phenomenon. Professor Ogburn in 1922 published a book entitled *Social Change* in which he elaborated the phenomena of maladjustment and social lag, and in which he expounded a thesis quite at variance with the process concept. Though somewhat superseded and overshadowed by the less biological viewpoint of the Ogburn school, the process view is still in considerable acceptance. The writer of the article in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Max Lerner, is one who takes emphatic exception to the viewpoint:

The implications of this entire complex of theory for social change and its consequences for social action are far-reaching. By stressing the unbroken continuity of history and society, it tends to bolster the status quo and to inhibit revolutionary action which might break with the past and endanger the fragile social heritage. The change, the theory envisages, is only that of continuity and not radical and revolutionary change. By positing the organic relation in society and the individual it places the locus of change and the locus of the social process in the mind of the individual, denying society as an objective reality and denying also the sweep of impersonal forces in history.

On the whole the social process theory represents liberalism in the field of sociology. Sociologists for the most part have followed Cooley's injunction and adopted it as their fundamental intellectual attitude. But its very indecisiveness has done much toward preventing the achievement of an adequate theory of social change or social causation. And through its function of rationalizing the status quo and the fear of revolutionary action, the theory has in the movement of events carried implications of a definitely anti-liberal character.

That Lerner's point is well taken, is quite obvious in the light of the following illuminating statement from Cooley himself:

It is not the case, as many suppose, that there is anything in the idea of organism necessarily opposed to the idea of freedom. The question of freedom or unfreedom is rather one of the *kind* of organism or of organic process, whether it is mechanical and predetermined, or creative and inscrutable. There may be an organic freedom, which exists in the whole as well as in the parts, is a total as well as a particular phenomenon. It may be of the very nature of life and found in all the forms of life. Darwin seems to have believed in something of this kind, as indicated by his unwillingness to regard the dinosaur as lacking in free will.

The organic view of freedom agrees with experience and common sense in teaching that liberty can exist in the individual only as he is part of a whole which is also free, that it is false to regard him as separate from or antithetical to the larger unity. In other words, the notion of an opposition between organism and freedom is a phase of the "individualistic" philosophy which regarded social unity as artificial and restrictive.¹⁰

Such, then, is the *social process* concept in the words of its most illustrious exponents and opponents. Which theory finds the better support in human history? Social change we cannot deny, but is the change too unlike that effected by the growth of an organism? Are revolutions violent changes from an organic viewpoint? We speak, for example, of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Essentially it consisted in the removal of political power from the small minority which constituted the nobility to another small minority which constituted the Soviet Party. It might well be noted that there has been a revolution in the United States in the past decade when we have witnessed the spectacular ascendance of the executive-administrative, and the overshadowing of the legislative and judicial branches of government. Are these changes not organically and causally dependent on the previous social constitution of events?

The objection to the *social process* theory seems to lie in the realm of the philosophical and the moral. It has prevented "the achievement of an adequate theory of social change or social causation," according to Lerner. Can "causation" be explained in nature, or in natural science? By analogy, will any perfection of or achievement in the theory and knowledge of physiology give us an adequate theory of individual human life? Lacking the data of metaphysics, can there be any adequate theory of social change or social causation? *Mundelein College, Chicago, Ill.*

¹⁰*Ibid.* p. 28.

Public Welfare Practice and Man's Social Heritage

AGNES VAN DRIEL

Developments in practice in medicine and law have been a matter of study over a long period of time. The elements which are basic to good practice and the elements which influence practice in those areas of service have been the subject of much discussion and of immeasurable help toward clarifying function, as well as determining the preparation for those giving the service, with ultimate better results to society. Public welfare has been one of the areas of practice which have been a battleground of contention regarding the nature of their service. At the same time, for one reason or another, it has been shunned and abandoned by others as being "unclean" and, therefore, not to be talked about in polite society. Yet, public welfare is inescapably the concern of everyone and everyone's life is touched by it in one way or another. The quality of service maintained reflects upon society as a whole — not merely upon any one group, such as recipients, taxpayers, employees, or others.

The topic to be discussed in this paper is one small segment of the total problem. It is about the influence in public welfare practice of an understanding of man's social heritage, that which constitutes a very real part of a person's preparation for life, that I refer to.

The public welfare worker needs to be concerned not merely with the material aspects of an individual's situation: he needs also to be concerned with the non-material culture in which the individual lives and participates, having as his objectives the development, maintenance, or restoration of social well-being for the individual, the group, and the community. The worker's efforts are at one and the same time directed toward treatment (in which the individual himself always must carry responsibility) and prevention. For the service is not adequate if it merely palliates, nor even if it also merely rehabilitates. It must be performed with use of adequate knowledge and skills to make prevention also at least a partial achievement.

The worker must be able to understand not alone the environmental situation of an applicant for, or a recipient of, public welfare; he must also be able to understand the person's attitude and motives, and through them, the way in which the individual responds to his total situation. While the professional curriculum for education in public welfare leads to understanding human behavior, human needs, and human capacities, this professional education must rest upon general education wherein a start toward that end is made. An understanding, from the study of sociology of culture, of the ways in which cultures have been developed, of ways in which the individual is influenced both by the culture of which he is a part and by cultures which are strange to him but into which he has come to live or to work, is an absolute necessity. The public welfare worker himself needs to have general cultural interests and to understand the community and world environment of which he is a part. This, in the main, he secures through his general education. Special understanding of the impact of man's social heritage upon his present life, he secures from a study of various subjects, notably the social sciences.

An appreciation of some of the basic needs in preparation for practice in public welfare may be secured from consideration of decisions which have been reached regarding education in an older profession — medicine. The final report of the Commission on Medical Education made in 1932 included in its summary,

Functional disturbances are coming to be more widely understood and emphasized in medical practice and teaching. The important influences of employment, home life, conditions of living, emotional factors, heredity, and other features in the causation of such disturbances should become a recognized part of the instruction.

Medical education in the future will be concerned not only with well defined disease and disability, but also with the less tangible social, economic, public, and community factors. These factors are coming to be recognized as important in the etiology, control, and prevention of illness, impairment, and incapacity, and in the promotion of normal mental and physical vigor.¹

Applying this principle to the field of public welfare practice, the worker needs to know not alone the immediate economic and social condition of the applicant or recipient, he must also know

¹ Commission on Medical Education. *Medical Education*. Final Report of the Commission on Medical Education, New York, 1932, ch. VII.

some of the less tangible factors which may or may not have been factors in causing the individual's situation, but which certainly will be vital elements in the treatment.

Man shares with brutes certain environmental settings, in addition to the natural settings of earth, sky, vegetation, animals, and the like. Man also has an environment which the brute cannot share. This is his social heritage. This social heritage finds its impact on each individual human being, chiefly through the medium of the group. The family group is the first of these through which a child begins to acquire his social heritage. The community, the church, the school constitute other groups which assist (or make difficult for) the family in familiarizing the child with the content of and an evaluation of his culture. Hence, groups, whatever their nature, are of great importance, not alone as instruments of communication of culture to the individual, but also because they actually shape personality. It is necessary, therefore, that one in public welfare practice have a knowledge of individuals and of individual human behavior, as well as of group behavior, and that he also understand the culture that is the individual's social heritage and in which he lives.

Studies made of applicants for and recipients of old age assistance indicate wide variation among the sociological factors such as race, nativity and religion, found in the old age dependency cases studied. For white persons, Negroes, Indians and others are found among the recipients. Some of these were born in the United States, but thousands were born in other countries, such as Germany, Ireland, Italy, Great Britain, Russia, Canada, Poland, Roumania and others. The religion of the applicant or recipient, or his lack of it, is another factor which enters into consideration of adjustment to life situations. Each of these factors suggests immediately the range of likeness and of difference to be understood by the workers responsible for the determination of eligibility and for the meeting of needs of recipients. The social heritage of these individuals would be different in many respects in spite of the fact that all of them lived in the same subdivision of the United States, were all old people, and were all in need. Failure to know the social heritage of an individual and inability to understand its significance in terms of the individual's present situation and his outlook is certain to result in failure to have that person's needs met. Preparation for public welfare practice must make use of the accumulated experiences

of generations in understanding these intricate elements, and in ways of dealing with them. When this need is not met, there is danger that serious damage may be done to people's lives and perhaps even violence to the common good.

The Social Security Board in reporting on the administration of public assistance writes,

Decisions . . . which affect the lives of persons who are living on the margin of subsistence require capacity to observe, evaluate, and, to the greatest possible extent, to harmonize the often tangled and apparently conflicting interests of public policy and personal relationships. They underscore the need for permanent, experienced personnel in the staffs of State and local public-assistance agencies and for a level of education and training which will ensure that these staffs have both a mastery of the necessary professional skills and a broad and unbiased understanding of the purpose of the program and of the individuals with whom they are dealing.²

The American Association of Schools of Social Work properly has been and continues to be concerned not alone about sound professional curriculum, but as well, regarding prerequisites for professional education. In giving the setting for practice the Association writes,

The conception of the scope, and perhaps the content, of social work is changing rapidly. The term "social work" was a few years ago largely identified with social case work; some group work and community organization were recognized as social work, but what came to be called "public welfare work" was for a period of years almost ruled out. Social work was par excellence private social case work — family case work, medical social work, psychiatric social work, and child welfare. Experience with relief during the depression and the passage of the federal Social Security Act have elevated public welfare work and social insurance to the dominant place in the field of social welfare activities. The British term "social services" probably describes the present layout of social welfare activities better than the term "social work" does. Social case work is now only one of the professional activities that a social agency carries on, but it still remains one of the basic forms of professional training for any social service position.³

² Social Security Board. *Third Annual Report of the Social Security Board, 1938*. Pp. 105-106.

³ "Prerequisites for Admission to Schools of Social Work: A Report of the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work." Reprinted from *The Social Service Review* (September, 1937).

Not only does knowledge of man's social heritage affect the equipment of the worker who must carry responsibility for public welfare practice, it also has an effect upon welfare policies. If public welfare were no more than pauper relief, authorized by and operating under "poor laws," then there would be little relationship between knowledge of man's social heritage and public welfare policies. But if one accepts public welfare as a constructive service, then the relationship becomes clear. The adoption of welfare policies initiated by governmental authority (such, for example, as the Social Security Act) actually creates some of the major problems of government. Unless public welfare workers, particularly those in important administrative positions, understand those problems of government (which government, to be effective, reflects the various cultures of its people), the public welfare program will not be effectively and efficiently carried on. In discussing this point, it has been said,

The various social service policies may have important effects upon the labor market — certainly the way in which unemployment compensation and the public employment service are administered will affect the labor market. Sociological effects of social service policies may be reflected in marriage rates, birth-rates, death-rates, and the growth of pressure groups. Thus, in addition to thinking of the social sciences as prerequisites to professional courses, we now have to think of them as providing principles that enter into the determination of social service policies. The ablest social administrators in the future will be concerned about the broad social effects of their policies, and they will have to think of these in terms of economics, political sciences, and sociology.⁴

The quality of service in any public welfare agency never rises higher than the quality of personnel which administers that service. In a democracy, the people decide what they want by way of governmental service. This can be decided either by positive decision or, less fortunately, through disinterested passive acquiescence to the will of a few. If we want public welfare practice in these United States to be in keeping with man's nature and his needs, then, in addition to sound legislation, we also need well-qualified personnel to administer the programs. Such personnel will not be competent merely because of good intentions, nor indeed, because they have

⁴"Prerequisites for Admission to Schools of Social Work: A Report of the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work." *The Social Service Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (September, 1937), p. 470.

learned a few "techniques." They need, besides good character, sound general education which has prepared them to find their proper place in life in relation to their Creator, themselves, and their fellowmen. They need, also, professional education which truly prepares for the service they expect to enter. Through both this general and the special education must come an understanding of man's social heritage, if the public welfare worker is to be worthy of the service he undertakes to administer.

Washington, D.C.

NEWS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

The fifth annual convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, beginning Sunday morning, December 27, and ending Tuesday afternoon, December 29.

Groups desiring special organizational meetings or luncheons during the convention should inform the executive-secretary so that such announcements can be printed in the convention program. Evenings during the days of the convention will be left open for informal discussions and groups who may wish to call special meetings. Program for the convention will be published in the December issue of the REVIEW.

★ ★ ★

An Institute on Catholic Social Principles under the auspices of the Association of Catholic Secondary Schools of Minnesota was held at St. Paul Diocesan Teachers College, August 18, 19, and 20. Object of the Institute was to discuss the social encyclicals in such a way as to assist secondary school-teachers in making them more available to their students. The Rev. John P. Delaney, S.J., of the Institute of Social Order, was the lecturer, and in the afternoon panels were conducted at which the teachers explained and distributed mimeographed copies of lesson plans, procedures, or devices which they had found useful in teaching this material.

★ ★ ★

The twentieth annual convention of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference will be held in Peoria, Illinois, October 3, 4, 5, 6, 1942. October 3 has been set aside as *Teachers', Leaders', and Youth Day*; October 5 has been set aside as *Farmers' Day* during which the technology of farming as related to peace and war will be discussed. October 6 will be *Ladies' and Confraternity Day*. For reservations or information, write to the Rev. Charles Clifford, 607 North Madison Ave., Peoria, Illinois.

★ ★ ★

Sister M. Inez Hilger, O.S.B., of the St. Cloud School of Nursing, has completed her socio-ethnological research and field work on Arapaho child life. This work was made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

★ ★ ★

Rudolph Schwenger, formerly of St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vt., has been appointed head of the department of sociology at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. He takes the place of Stephen W. Mamchur who accepted a position with the federal government in Washington. Franz Mueller was appointed head of the department of economics and business administration as successor to Theodore Brauer who died earlier in the year. Franz Mueller also teaches courses in the sociology department.

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The executive-secretary would like to call attention to the special student rates being offered for subscriptions to the REVIEW. Student subscriptions may be had for \$1.00 provided five or more students subscribe and all the magazines are sent to one address.

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The Rev. William R. Clark, O.P., of the department of sociology of Providence College, R. I., has been appointed by the Governor to a commission to study the public welfare institutions in the state of Rhode Island.

★ ★ ★

Sister Mary Alphonsine, O.P., has been appointed to serve as an instructor in the department of sociology and social work at Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.

★ ★ ★

American Social Problems by Mary Elizabeth Walsh, a textbook in social problems, was published by D. Appleton-Century in the summer of 1942.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Gerard Grant, S.J., has been added to the faculty of the department of sociology at Loyola University.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Laurence P. McHattie, S.J., is now teaching sociology at Creighton University, Omaha.

Roster of the American Catholic Sociological Society

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BOOK REVIEWS

PAUL J. MUNDIE, Book Review Editor
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

An Introduction to Sociology. By John Lewis Gillin and John Philip Gillin. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1942. Pp. 806. \$3.75.

The senior author of this book is the well known and most excellent writer on social pathology, attached to the University of Wisconsin. The junior author teaches anthropology at Duke, but the relationship between the two in writing this volume is not stated.

The volume is a large one, divided into eight sections, beginning with a discussion of the origin of the earth and of man and ending with a brief discussion of social pathology.

Almost at once we are told the approach it to be a "natural" one, in the sense that it is scientific and that the relationships of phenomena "can be explained in terms of relationships between forces resident in things as we know them through our senses and reason, without involving the aid of extra-sensory agencies, such as mana, orenda, divination, magic, ghosts or gods" (page 6).

Part II has chapters on Social Life, Man the Animal, Organism and Environment, Fundamentals of Behaviour and Population. A discussion of geological history and man's place in the animal world are treated from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology. One finds the treatment adequate but very concentrated. This concentration is even exceeded, however, in the next chapter on population. Not only does it contain a complete summation of the population question, particularly in the United States, but includes immigration, eugenics and the mental diseases as well.

Parts III, IV and V contain 578 pages, a most detailed and competent discussion of culture, of social institutions and of social processes. In treating the family, as well as other institutions, examples are drawn from the world of primitive civilizations. This anthropological technique gives breadth to the discussions and points the way, already a trend in sociology, toward the use of anthropological method to describe civilized or so-called advanced cultures.

The tone of the book throughout is a little disappointing to the *normative sociologist*, but he is somewhat used to this disappointment. The purely descriptive treatment used in the chapter on religious institutions is fairly satisfactory. However, the following statements, taken at random from the chapter, are either contradic-

tory or they assign religion a purely secular place in the life of man: 1) "Science has superseded religion as an explanation of the nature of the universe" (page 469); 2) "As a scientific explanation of the universe religion has lost its old dominion. As a philosophy giving meaning to the universe and to the social relations it has only begun to come into its own" (page 470); and 3) "In spite of organized religion's failure to adapt itself to the rapidly changing culture pattern of our time, it still is possible for it to command the energy to bring about a social order wherein increasingly 'dwelleth righteousness'." (p. 471)

All of us are accustomed to object to books that "ride" one approach to the limit of human patience. This book is free of such bias. The authors have lived up to their claim that the book is *scientific*. They have expounded all the standard approaches and have paid due consideration to controversial points. This reviewer, however, is surprised to find that he actually missed the insistence and dogmatism of the less scientific sociological writer who has a viewpoint to sell. The entire book is competent, complete and workmanlike. It reminds, however, of the novel or detective story done by the head of the English department: correct, competent and with due regard for plot, diction and style but lacking the zest and warmth often exhibited by the less well-informed writer.

ANDREW J. KRESS

Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy. By Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Rutenberg. New York: Harper & Bros. 1942. Pp. xxvi + 358. \$3.00.

Critics of industrial capitalism have repeatedly pointed out that management has failed to draw upon the immense reservoir of human ingenuity, initiative, and intelligence to be found among its workers. Committed to a policy of industrial relations which was, at times, as despotic as that of recorded history's worst tyrants, management has overlooked the factor of labor's human endowment and has thought only in terms of the "muscular contribution of work."

This book affords further evidence that the worker has a great deal more to contribute to economic life than he has been permitted to in the past. Written by two men who have been in the forefront of the labor movement of our age, Clinton S. Golden, vice-president of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO), and Harold J. Rutenberg, research director of the same union, the book lays the framework of a plan for industrial democracy through labor's active and cooperative participation in industrial management. The distillation of their own experiences in the organization of workers serves as the basis for the book which itself is replete with situations in which the union is envisaged as a social institution far deeper and far more

comprehensive in scope than a mere means of economic aggrandizement. It also provides an excellent background for the Murray plan of Industrial Councils.

The book is constructed around "thirty-seven principles of union-management relations." These fall into three sections, (1) union-management bargaining, (2) union-management cooperation, and (3) union-management planning. Typical principles are the following:

"Workers organize into labor unions not alone for economic reasons but also for equally compelling psychological and social ones, so that they can participate in making decisions that vitally affect them in their work and community life." (1)

"Collective bargaining is an instrument for workers and owners, through unions and management to solve their problems directly without recourse to government." (4)

"The power to discharge should not be lodged in a single individual." (21)

Case histories are cited to illustrate each of the thirty-seven principles, and these examples are the heart of the volume — for they exemplify the fundamentals of industrial democracy at work. The authors do not commit themselves to any rigid machinery for collective bargaining, insisting rather that despite the evils and obstacles which may arise, the absence of sympathetic understanding by each of the other's problems makes industrial peace impossible. Their stress on the social and psychological reasons for the formation of unions indicates a new and desirable trend in union philosophy. Men want good wages, financial security, and independence, but not at the sacrifice of their dignity as human beings.

Many passages throughout the book reflect a profound insight into a philosophy of work which is reminiscent of Eric Gill, Graham Carey, and Peter Maurin. For example:

"The managers of industry naturally enjoy a means of self-expression in their daily work, because it is essentially creative and gives their personalities dignity and their lives a meaning. For them, in the main, their jobs are a pleasure. When they brag about working fifty, sixty, or seventy hours a week, management officials are to be neither honored nor pitied, but envied. There is something lacking in the lives of individuals who put more pep into punching out their time cards and rushing home from work than they do in their regular eight-hour day and forty-hour week. We [the authors] work the long sixty- and seventy-hour week, and we love it. We are organizers. We help workers of all ages and origins get together and create a new social mechanism—the labor union—which, in turn, molds a final agreement of policy out of the conflicting emotions and opinions of workers and management. The fact of going home from work is not exhilarating to us; our wives

find us uninterested in hectic, energy-letting dances, picnics, and parties. We have put our innermost thoughts and energies into our regular work. This is mostly true of individuals engaged in essentially creative undertakings. But it is not typical of industrial workers; they look forward to getting away from their regular work with a vengeance."

Not only have the writers expressed such ideas, but they have made such profound truths intelligible for the average worker. The importance of the latter achievement cannot be overstated; for many years, we have been able to find social philosophers to expound the revolutionary nature of the Christian philosophy of work, but we have found only a meager few who had the ability to translate this social philosophy for the masses.

There may be some who disagree with Golden and Ruttenberg on the issue of the union shop, but the case the authors make for the union shop is by far the most compelling and thorough that this reviewer has ever seen. The union shop is regarded as essential to the promotion of good management-labor relations under a collective bargaining contract.

For anyone interested in unionism and industrial relations this book is mandatory reading. *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* should also be on the reading list of all members of the National Association of Manufacturers, though it may at the same time disconcert them considerably.

EDWARD A. MARCINIAK

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The Teaching of the Social Studies in a Changing World. By Frederick K. Branom. Chicago: W. H. Sadlier, Inc. 1942. Pp. viii + 338. \$3.00.

Frederick Branom has written a comprehensive guide for the beginning teacher. He discusses the teaching of history and geography in detail but not economics, civics, sociology, or problems of democracy. By implication rather than by a forthright statement of his convictions, he places greater importance on history and geography than on the other phases of social studies which are of lesser importance in the elementary and secondary schools. A list of some of the chapter headings will give an accurate idea of the content: The place of textbooks, workbooks, and collateral reading in the social studies; some audio-visual aids; maps and how to use them; pictures and their use. In each chapter he lucidly explains the advantages that might be derived from using these materials. He also warns the inexperienced teacher of the pitfalls she may encounter by using them.

A cursory consideration of these titles will indicate how thoroughly he examines all possible methods of teaching social studies:

Methods in Teaching Social Sciences: The Unit in Social Studies; Problems, Projects, and Activities; Questions and Answers, The Outline; Comparison Method and the Type Study; The Imaginary Journey, Dramatization, and the Story; Some Other Methods Briefly.

In Chapter 17, Curriculum of Social Studies, he points out the advantages of the fusion courses. While he does not approve of fusion courses, he does not stress the results of studies by Dondineau and Dimond in the Eighth Yearbook of the National Council of Social Studies, 1937, which state "that the claims for special values for integration had not been proved up to that time." In view of our present international debacle where ignorance of history plays so disastrous a part, it seems that the author misses an opportunity to emphasize the ever-increasing need of history being interpreted to students. Instead, precious time is spent by students doing less important work, such as making surveys of their localities or participating in panel discussions over the radio. The author lists fifteen possible courses in social science for the secondary school. Today if a student takes four of these courses, he is considered exceptional. Is it not far more important that every American have as complete a picture of world history as can be taught rather than a smattering of knowledge in many allied fields selected at the whim of the adolescent dictators? The reviewer feels Branom omits a contribution in this field he might have made if he had explained the urgent need of all students for courses in Ancient, Medieval, Modern European, and U. S. History. This chapter is weak. The late Ambassador Dodd, former professor of history at the University of Chicago, claimed that American representatives abroad are handicapped by their ignorance of history.

The author logically concludes his book with a chapter on testing. His bibliography is extensive. He has used standard references on the methods of teaching social sciences.

The experienced teacher may find Branom academic and repetitious; the inexperienced teacher who is professionally minded will find much concrete information of definite value. "*The Teaching of the Social Studies in a Changing World*" should find its place in the library suggested by its bibliography.

MIRIAM O'NEIL

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Franciscan Studies, December, 1941. "Economics." Published by the Franciscan Educational Conference. St. Bonaventure College, New York.

This issue of *Franciscan Studies* consists of a report of the papers contributed to the symposium on Economics which was chosen as the subject of the twenty-third annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference. The titles of the papers read and printed in the

report are: A Recent Economic Theory — Monopolistic Competition; The Basic Problem of Just Distribution; The Influence of Economics on the Modern Trend of Our Government; The Rise and Decline of Capitalism; The Authority and Teaching of the Church; The Social Security Legislation of the New Deal; The Right to Organize; The Bearing of Economics on Crime; The Bearing of Economics on Mental Diseases; Credit Unions; The Golden Mean; The Third Order of St. Francis; Integrating Economic Principles with Catholic Social Teaching; and Teaching Economics in Our Major Seminaries.

The papers are of unequal excellence from the point of view of the knowledge of economic theory they manifest, varying from quite an admirable resumé of the theory of imperfect competition to a quite uncritical treatment of modern economic nostrums in The Golden Mean. In fact, one often finds a more penetrating and critical analysis of the economic implications of proposed social reforms in the discussions following the papers than in the papers themselves. Though in general the merit of the papers lies rather in the field of exposition than of critical evaluation, the symposium marks an altogether commendable step towards bringing the scientifically established principles of economics to bear upon the solution of practical problems in the field of Catholic social philosophy.

The Bibliography on Economics which follows the papers is not of the highest merit. For example, the compiler fails to distinguish between economic history and the history of economic thought. And many of the most authoritative works in the fields of both economic history and economic theory are not to be found in his list.

The volume closes with an appendix on the National Labor Law of the Republic of Portugal.

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Problems of a Changing Social Order. By John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt. New York: American Book Company. 1942. Pp. xiv + 824. \$4.00.

This is a completely new edition of these authors' *Social Problems* which for some time has been widely used as a text. The general outline is the same, though considerably more extended. Here we have all the recent data, tables, graphs, etc., on the various topics that doubtless many a teacher has longed to have collected in one manageable book. In its 824 pages, there is, generally speaking, an excellent text, pertinent questions at the end of each chapter and a fairly comprehensive bibliography. This book can be recommended for classroom use with the reservation usually applicable to the writings of non-Catholic authors who choose to remain oblivious of "The Thing," to borrow Chesterton's designation. "Charity" is confused with the current popular concept of the same name, and

likewise "poverty," which as a social problem, and as an economic condition is in each case a different concept from the Christian counsel. While there is an acknowledgment that social problems are, and each social problem is the product of a complexity of conditions there are several observations that seem to limit explanations to very simple causes.

There is a storehouse of misinformation or naïveté in such a statement as:

Politically, a revolution usually is the transfer of power from a monarch or oligarchy to the masses, such as the universalizing of voting and education. Such were the French and English revolutions, the Communist revolution of Russia, and the freeing and enfranchisement of slaves in the United States. Or the movement may be in the other direction, from control by the masses to bureaucratic control. (p. 810)

One may, of course, prefer to believe that the masses in Russia are in control of the government. For that matter, one may prefer to believe that anywhere the masses can control the government. In the realm, however, where statistical data and objective measurements are more readily available, the authors have performed on the whole satisfactorily. The data are a welcome addition to the Murray-Flynn text, whose general outline is quite similar to this recent publication.

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